

Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT LISBON 4900 ACTION SECSTATE 11 NOV

QUOTE

S E C R E T LISBON 4900

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR POO

SUBJ: MCCLOSKEY MEETINGS WITH ACTING MINISTER OF FOREIGN

AFFAIRS DR. JORGE CAMPINOS, AND MINISTER

WITHOUT PORTFOLIO MAJOR ERNESTO DE MELO ANTUNES, ON NOV 8

REF: LISBON 4870; LISBON 4897

1. FOLLOWING CALLS ON PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES AND PRIME
MINISTER GONCALVES, MCCLOSKEY, ACCOMPANIED BY IBERIAN
DIRECTOR LUKENS, SPECIAL ASSISTANT PEZZULLO AND DCM POST,
CALLED ON TWO OTHER MINISTERS SAME DAY.

2. FIRST WAS ACTING FONMIN DR. JOAQUIM JORGE PINHO CAMPINOS.
HE EXPLAINED HOW SORRY FONMIN SOARES HAD BEEN NOT TO RECEIVE
MCCLOSKEY HIMSELF. MCCLOSKEY DESCRIBED HIS MISSION AND
EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR BASE NEGOTIATIONS.

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IN REPLY CAMPINOS ADMITTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN HIATUS

IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BUT SAID THIS WAS NOT THE FAULT OF THE
USG. HE SAID THAT GOP HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO PUT TOGETHER
ITS POSITION NOR TO DO ADEQUATE PREPARATION ON TYPE OF AID
NEEDED. HE FELT THAT NOW, HOWEVER, GOP WAS READY TO ADVANCE
QUICKLY ON THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT SOARES HAD
ALWAYS WANTED OUR COOPERATION TO EXTEND BEYOND MERE
COMPENSATION FOR THE AZORES. HE SAID THAT GOP WANTED DEMOCRACY
AND WANTED TO REMAIN PART OF WESTERN WORLD. THEN, ALLUDING
TO SOARES' TWO VISITS TO WASHINGTON, CAMPINOS SAID HE HAD
DETECTED A CERTAIN RETICENCE IN THE USG POSITION TOWARD PORTUGAL.
HE SAID HE APPRECIATED OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE COMMUNIST
INFILTRATION IN THE GOP AND ADMITTED THAT THERE WAS STRONG
COMMUNIST SUPPORT IN LISBON. HE FELT THERE WAS LESS COMMUNIST
INFLUENCE OUTSIDE LISBON. MOREOVER, HE FELT CONFIDENT THAT
THE 1975 ELECTIONS WOULD GIVE PROOF THAT THE PORTUGUESE WOULD
REMAIN WITH THE WESTERN WORLD. HE WAS PLEASED THAT THE SOCIALISTS
HAD REFUSED TO COMBINE WITH THE COMMUNISTS FOR THE ELECTIONS.
CAMPINOS SAID THAT HE WAS AGAINST A COALITION AND THOUGHT IT
MUCH BETTER IF ALL PARTIES HAD TO GO IT ALONE AND STAND ON THEIR
OWN MERITS.

3. MCCLOSKEY THANKED CAMPINOS FOR HIS EXPLANATION AND
REITERATED SOME OF THE CONCERNS OF THE USG. HE SAID U.S. WOULD
NOT OPPOSE THE GOP REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE AND IN FACT A TEAM OF
TECHNICAL EXPERTS WAS EXPECTED NEXT WEEK. HE SUGGESTED IN THIS
CONNECTION, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW ABOUT
PORTUGAL'S REQUESTS TO OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES FOR AID.
CAMPINOS REPLIED THAT THE IDEA OF AID FROM THE WESTERN WORLD
WAS SUPPORTED BY ALL CURRENTS OF OPINION WHO SUPPORTED
DEMOCRACY. HE SAID THAT ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF THE COSTA GOMES
TRIP TO WASHINGTON WAS TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES
THE PORTUGUESE CONNECTION WITH THE WEST. HE MENTIONED ALVES'
TRIP TO EUROPE AND SAID THAT THE GOP HOPED TO OBTAIN ECONOMIC
SUPPORT FROM GERMANY, HOLLAND AND FRANCE AND TO TIGHTEN ITS TIES
TO THE COMMON MARKET. MCCLOSKEY REPLIED THAT THAT TYPE OF
POLICY MADE SENSE AND WOULD HAVE USG SUPPORT.

4. TURNING THEN TO THE AZORES, MCCLOSKEY ASKED IF THERE WAS
OPPOSITION WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT TO OUR CONTINUED USE OF THE
BASE. CAMPINOS SAID HE WOULD ANSWER FRANKLY BY STATING THAT
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SOARES WOULD NOT REMAIN IN HIS JOB IF THE TIES WITH THE
USG WERE NOT MAINTAINED. CAMPINOS SAID THAT THE AFM AGREED THAT
PORTUGAL HAD TO LIVE UP TO HER INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, AMONG
THESE WAS THE LAJES AGREEMENT. THE US ROLE WAS MOST IMPORTANT
TO WESTERN STABILITY AND HE SAID "WE KNOW WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES
WOULD BE IF THE US LEFT LAJES AND PORTUGAL LEFT NATO". HE
WENT ON TO SAY THAT SOARES' POSITION WAS NOT ISOLATED BUT
REFLECTED THE WILL OF THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE WHICH HE WAS

CONFIDENT WOULD BE EXPRESSED IN THE COMING ELECTIONS. MCCLOSKEY REPLIED THAT HE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED CAMPINOS' FRANKNESS. HE ASKED IF CAMPINOS HAD HEARD ABOUT THE RUMOR THAT THE ARABS WOULD LIKE TO OFFER MONEY TO PORTUGAL IN RETURN FOR INTERDICTION OF LAJES BY USG. CAMPINOS DENIED SUCH AN OFFER HAD BEEN MADE AND SAID HE WAS SURE IT WOULD NEVER BE ACCEPTED. HE SAID THE COUNTRY WOULD NOT STAND FOR THAT TYPE OF BLACKMAIL. IN CONCLUDING REMARKS CAMPINOS SAID HE WISHED TO EXPLAIN THAT WE SHOULD NOT MISINTERPRET THE CANCELLATION BY THE PORTUGUESE ARMY OF A NUMBER OF TRAINING SLOTS IN THE US. HE SAID THAT PORTUGAL WAS PRESENTLY SHORT OF CADRES FOR THE ARMY AND NEEDED ITS OFFICERS AT HOME BUT THAT THE AIR FORCE OFFICERS WOULD GO AS PLANNED. HE THEN MADE FORMAL REQUEST THAT AIR FORCE TRAINING PROGRAM BE EXPEDITED.

5. IN BRIEF VISIT WITH MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO MAJOR ERNESTO DE MELO ANTUNES FOLLOWING CALL ON GONCALVES, MCCLOSKEY ASKED ABOUT PROGRAM OF AFM. ANTUNES REPLIED WITH SOME INTENSITY OF FEELING THAT THE AFM HAD PLAYED A LEGITIMATE ROLE ON APRIL 25 AND PLANNED TO INSTALL "FOREVER" A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN PORTUGAL. HE SAID THE AFM WOULD BE THE GUARANTOR OF DEMOCRACY IN THE COUNTRY AND PLANNED TO CONSOLIDATE THE PROCESS ALREADY BEGUN BY CONTINUING EVEN AFTER THE ELECTIONS TO BE THE GUARANTOR OF DEMOCRACY. TO BE SURE THAT ANTUNES MEANT THAT THE AFM ROLE WOULD CONTINUE AFTER THE ELECTIONS, MCCLOSKEY ASKED THE QUESTION AGAIN AND ANTUNES' REPLY WAS QUITE CATEGORIC. HE SAID THE ARMED FORCES WAS ALREADY INSTITUTIONALIZED IN THE ORGANS OF SOVEREIGNTY, THAT THE AFM NOW INCLUDED ALL OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THAT ONCE THE ELECTIONS HAD PRODUCED A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY, THE ARMED FORCES WOULD THEN REVERT TO NORMAL MILITARY DUTIES. MCCLOSKEY ASKED ABOUT ANTUNES' ROLE IN DECOLONIZATION. HE DENIED A PERSONAL ROLE AND SAID THAT HE HAD MERELY BEEN DEPUTIZED BY THE MFA TO CARRY OUT THE PROGRAM OF
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THE MFA. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE GOP STILL FACES GREAT PROBLEMS IN DECOLONIZATION, ESPECIALLY IN ANGOLA. HE DID NOT THINK THAT THE PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED ABRUPTLY AND HE DID NOT WISH ANGOLA'S PROBLEMS TO SPREAD TO OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA. HE SAID HE HAD TALKED TO NYERERE AND KAUNDA AND THEY HAD AGREED WITH HIM ON A CAREFUL TIMETABLE.

6./WHEN MCCLOSKEY SUGGESTED THAT THE 800 MILLION DOLLARS WHICH ANTUNES SAID HAD BEEN SPENT ANNUALLY FOR MILITARY PURPOSES IN AFRICA COULD BE REPROGRAMMED, ANTUNES AGREED BUT FELT IT WOULD BE A LONG TIME BEFORE THESE RESOURCES WOULD BE AVAILABLE. HE SAID THE ARMY WOULD BE NEEDED FOR ONE MORE YEAR AT LEAST IN ANGOLA WHERE OVER HALF OF ARMED FORCES NOW STATIONED, AND THAT SOME OF THE 800 MILLION DOLLARS WOULD HAVE TO BE USED TO SUPPORT THE NEW AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. HE CONCLUDED

BY SAYING THAT THE PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC SITUATION WORRIED
HIM BUT THAT WHATEVER PRICE HAD TO BE PAID WOULD BE WORTH
IT BECAUSE IT MEANT THAT LIBERTY WAS BEING REGAINED
BY PORTUGAL.
SCOTT UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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